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THE DERIVATION OF THE CANZONE

The first group of Italian poets consists of some thirty men, nearly all of whom were associated, directly or indirectly, with the court of Frederick II. Among them were the Emperor Frederick himself, his sons King Enzo and King Frederick of Antioch, his father-in-law, King John of Jerusalem, and the imperial chancellor, Piero delle Vigne. There are extant 124 poems attributed on satisfactory grounds to members of the group: 86 *canzoni*, 35 sonnets, and 3 *discordi*. Most of this verse was written in the years 1220-50.¹

Before the activity of the Frederician poets began, the courtly lyric had established itself in three regions beyond the Alps. It had made its first appearance in Provence somewhat before 1100; about 1150 it was adopted by the poets of Northern France; and about 1180 it was introduced into Germany. Troubadours, *trouvères*, and minnesingers continued to flourish throughout the years when Frederick and his courtiers were writing in Italian.

Various opinions have been expressed with regard to the relations of the early Italian lyric to these three bodies of Transalpine verse. The traditional and still prevailing opinion is simply that the Provençal lyric considerably influenced the Italian. The possibility of the existence of North French or German influence is in general not recognized. This traditional opinion dates back at least to the early eighteenth century, when it was proclaimed by Crescimbeni.² The first systematic argument as to the general source of the early Italian lyric was made in 1846 by Wackernagel, who maintained, on

¹ E. F. Langley, *The Extant Repertory of the Early Sicilian Poets*, in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXVIII (1913), 454. Professor Langley's excellent study lists with greater exactness than any other the members of the Frederician group and is the first to present a special catalogue of their poems. This catalogue is even more complete and more accurate in its references to MSS and editions than are the general catalogues of the lyrics of the whole *Dugento*; and it is more complete and more accurate than that of Lisio (G. Lisio, *Studio su la forma metrica della canzone italiana nel secolo XIII*, Imola, 1895) in its statements as to the rhyme-schemes and other metrical features of the several poems. I have taken from Langley's study all the statistics given in the present paper as to the work of the Frederician poets. Langley lists 85 *canzoni* and three fragments of *canzoni*. I count with the *canzoni* the first of these fragments, which consists of one complete stanza; and disregard the other two fragments, each only a line or two in length.

² G. M. Crescimbeni, *L'istoria della volgar poesia*, Venice, 1731, I, 90-102.

metrical grounds, that the lyric of the minnesingers, and the lyric of the minnesingers alone, influenced the Italians.¹ Boehmer, in 1864, and Bartsch, in 1871, maintained, also on metrical grounds, that both troubadours and minnesingers influenced the Italians.² This opinion, like that of Wackernagel, seems to have dropped immediately and completely out of scholarly cognizance.³ Gaspary, in 1878, established beyond any possible doubt the fact that the early Italian poems show in content a very considerable Provençal influence.⁴ In the same year Caix expressed the opinion that the eight or ten early Italian poems which are relatively popular in tone were composed in imitation of Provençal or North French pastorals and romances; and a similar opinion was proposed, in 1889, by Jeanroy.⁵ Neither Caix nor Jeanroy advances arguments of any considerable weight, and their opinion has found little favor. The independence of the Italian poems in question was defended at length and successfully by Cesareo in 1894 and 1899.⁶ In 1895 Lisio argued that the indebtedness of the Italians to the troubadours in matters of metrical technique was slight.⁷ In 1907 Monaci maintained, chiefly on metrical grounds, that the general source of the early Italian lyric as a whole was the poetry of Northern France rather than that of Provence; and the same theory was championed by Bertoni in several publications in the years 1907–11.⁸ Monaci

¹ W. Wackernagel, *Altfranzösische Lieder und Leiche*, Basle, 1846, pp. 238–51. Wackernagel repeats his arguments, with some slight modifications, in his *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur*, Basle, 1851–53, pp. 250–51. For statement and criticism of his arguments, see below, pp. 158–60, 162, 163.

² E. Boehmer, *Ueber Dante's Schrift De vulgari eloquentia*, Halle, 1868, p. 28; K. Bartsch, *Dante's Poetik*, in *Jahrbuch der deutschen Dante-Gesellschaft*, III (1871), 303. See below, pp. 158, 159, 163, 164.

³ The only reference to it that I have seen is that of H. Schuchardt, *Ritornell und Terzine*, Halle, 1874, p. 138: "der Verdacht, die Kanzonenstrophe sei aus den Deutschen entlehnt, muss auf's Bestimmteste abgewiesen werden."

⁴ A. Gaspary, *Die sicilianische Dichterschule des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1878. Italian translation by S. Friedmann, *La scuola poetica siciliana del secolo XIII*, Leghorn, 1882. See below, pp. 159, 160.

⁵ N. Caix, *Ciullo d' Alcamo e gli imitatori delle romanze e pastorelle francesi e provenzali*, in *Nuova antologia*, XXX (1878), 477; A. Jeanroy, *les Origines de la poésie lyrique en France*, Paris, 1889, chap. iii. Caix held that the poems which served as models were of the type of the extant pastorals and romances; Jeanroy, that they were of an earlier type, of which no specimen survives.

⁶ G. A. Cesareo, *La poesia siciliana sotto gli Svevi*, Catania, 1894, pp. 321–412; *Le origini della poesia lirica in Italia*, Catania, 1899.

⁷ *Op. cit.* in note 1 on p. 135. See below, p. 164.

⁸ E. Monaci, *Elementi francesi nella più antica lirica italiana*, in *Scritti di storia di filologia e d' arte* (Nozze Fedele—De Fabritiis), Naples, 1907, p. 237. G. Bertoni, *L' imi-*

and Bertoni do not seem to have won any adherents to their opinion. Their arguments have been answered in detail in a careful review by Casella.¹ In 1911 Jeanroy, in the course of an unfavorable criticism of the theory of Bertoni and Monaci, remarked incidentally: "Il y a du reste dans leur technique [i.e., in that of the early Italian poets] certains traits (la distribution de la rime en groupes comprenant trois ou quatre vers par exemple), qui leur sont particuliers et qui feraient plutôt penser à une influence allemande."² The current histories of Italian literature express the traditional opinion that the early Italian lyric is derived largely from the Provençal; they do not refer to the possibility that the early Italians were acquainted with the North French lyric or with the minnesong.³

In the present study I shall first indicate the ways in which the poems of troubadours, *trouvères*, and minnesingers may have come to the notice of Frederick II and his courtiers; then compare the Frederician *canzoni* with the corresponding Provençal, French, and German poems in several respects of metrical technique; then state briefly the relation of the Frederician poems to the three bodies of Transalpine verse in matters of content; and finally review in detail the arguments advanced in some of the earlier works just referred to. In a presently forthcoming study I shall discuss the invention of the sonnet.

I

The early Italian lyric was very considerably influenced in content, as Gaspary proved, by the Provençal.⁴ It is therefore evident that the Italians had ample opportunity to become acquainted with the poetry of the troubadours, and there is consequently no need

tazione francese nei poeti meridionali della scuola siciliana, in *Romanische Forschungen*, XXIV (Mélanges Chabaneau; 1907), 819; *Il dolce stil nuovo*, in *Studi medievali*, II (1907), 352; *Le origini della lirica italiana*, in *Nuova antologia*, Ser. V, Vol. 147 (1910), 32; *Il duecento*, Milan (1911), pp. 23-36; *Una lettera amorosa di Pier della Vigna*, in *Giornale storico della lett. ital.*, LVII (1911), 33. See below, pp. 160, 164-66.

¹ M. Casella, in *Bullettino della soc. dant. ital.*, N.S. XIX (1912), 275. See below, pp. 165, 166.

² *Bullettin italien*, XI (1911), 355.

³ F. Flamini, *Compendio di storia della lett. ital.*, Leghorn, chap. i, sec. 4; H. Hauvette, *Littérature italienne*, Paris, chap. iii, sec. I; V. Rossi, *Storia della lett. ital.*, Milan, Vol. I, chap. v, secs. 1-5. The same opinion is expressed without specific argument in many other works, e.g., P. Meyer, *de l'Influence des troubadours sur la poésie des peuples romans*, in *Romania*, V (1876), 257; V. Cian, *I contatti letterari italo-provenzali e la prima rivoluzione poetica della lett. ital.*, in *Annuario della Regia università di Messina*, 1899-1900 (also separately, Messina, 1900).

⁴ See above, p. 136, and below, pp. 159, 160.

of studying here in detail the ways in which that acquaintance may have been obtained. Certain relevant facts as to Provençal-Italian relations in the first half of the thirteenth century may be noted, however, in passing. Provence was an imperial fief. Frederick II at many times received Provençal nobles at his court and despatched Italian courtiers on missions to Provence. Several Provençal troubadours visited Northern Italy, and a few Provençal *jongleurs*, at least, visited Tuscany: Two or three Provençal troubadours saw Frederick in 1212 during his passage through Northern Italy on his way to Germany. Five Provençal troubadours were present at the coronation of Frederick at Rome in 1220; and one, Guilhem Figueira, was with Frederick at Foggia in 1240. Several North Italians, nobles for the most part, composed lyrics in Provençal. One of these men, Percivalle Doria, was also a member of the Frederician group of Italian poets. Two or three other Italian authors of Provençal verse are known to have paid brief political visits to the court of Frederick II. Several troubadours addressed poems to Frederick II. The formation of manuscript anthologies of Provençal verse began, in Italy, before the middle of the century. Giacomino Pugliese, another member of the Frederician group of Italian poets, was in all probability one of the two Italians who requested Uc Faidit to write his Provençal grammar.¹

The Frederician poets had but little opportunity, it would seem, to hear or read the lyric of Northern France. Relations between Northern France and Southern Italy, close while the Normans reigned at Palermo, had virtually ceased by the end of the twelfth century.² During the years 1201-5 Walter of Brienne, with a few French knights in his following, fought in Southern Italy, on behalf of

¹ F. Torraca, *Federico II e la poesia provenzale*, in his *Studi su la lirica italiana del duecento*, Bologna, 1902, pp. 235-341; Bertoni, *Il duecento*, pp. 7-22, 60-62, 259-62, 266-67; V. de Bartholomaeis, *Osservazioni sulle poesie provenzali relative a Federico II*, and three monographs on particular poems concerned, in *Memorie della R. Accademia . . . di Bologna*, VI (1911-12), 69-123. De Bartholomaeis shows that the common idea that Frederick's court was a center of troubadour activity is quite without foundation. Elias Cairel, one of the troubadours who attended the coronation, went away disgusted at Frederick's failure to show him any favor. Guilhem Figueira is the only Provençal troubadour who is known to have been in direct personal relation with Frederick. I know the work of de Bartholomaeis only through the review by R. Lavaud in *Romania*, 42 (1913), 589.

² Bertoni notes that the latter half of the Norman rule in Sicily was contemporary with the work of the first *trouvères*; that Jendeus de Brie, author of the *Bataille Loquifer*, was in Sicily about 1170; and that Richard Cœur de Lion stopped in Sicily on his way eastward on the third crusade (1190): *L'imitazione francese*, pp. 820-21.

the Pope, against the German nobles who were established there.¹ The only obvious link between the *trouvères* and the Fredericians is the career of John of Brienne, who in his youth wrote French lyrics, three of which are extant, and in middle age or later composed a *discordo* in Italian, thus taking place as one of the Frederician poets. He was born about 1150. He came to Italy with his brother, the Walter just mentioned, in 1201, and remained with him there for two years. Later he went to Palestine, where he became king of Jerusalem. In 1222 he returned to Italy. He spent some time with Frederick II in 1223, and then traveled through France, England, Spain, and Germany. In 1225 he returned to Italy, and again spent some time with Frederick, who, at the end of the year, married King John's daughter. Soon after the wedding, however, the two men quarreled violently, and King John left the imperial court. From 1227 to 1231 he held high command in the service of the popes. In the latter year he left Italy for Constantinople.²

German-Italian relations in the first half of the thirteenth century were much closer and more constant than students of Italian literature seem to have realized.³ At the opening of the century German nobles, enfeoffed by Henry VI, were in control of large parts of Southern Italy and Sicily.⁴ Between 1200 and 1210 these Germans were in constant conflict with papal forces. The German leaders were, on the mainland, Diepold of Acerra, and, in Sicily, Markwald of Anweiler and William Kapparon. In 1209 Otho of Brunswick

¹ F. de Sassenay, *les Brienne de Lecce et d'Athènes*, Paris, 1869, pp. 52-90.

² T. L. Kington, *History of Frederick the Second*, Cambridge, 1862, pages referred to in the index s.v. "Brienne"; de Sassenay, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 78, 91-117; F. Lanzani, *Storia dei comuni italiani*, Milan (1882), p. 325. King John's four extant poems are edited by E. M(onaci): *Poesie del re Giovanni*, Rome, 1904.

³ Wackernagel pointed out certain phases of this relationship (see below, p. 162).

⁴ Henry first entered Italy in 1186, when he was married, at Milan, to Constance, daughter of William II of Sicily. He returned to Italy in 1190. He wintered in Lombardy, and in the following spring was crowned at Rome. He then marched southward, intending to assert his rights to the *Regno*, and conquered certain cities between Rome and Naples, but was forced to abandon the expedition and return to Germany. He left troops and lieutenants in Italy. In 1194 he crossed the Alps again. As he moved southward his army was enlarged by the enrolment of many North and Central Italians. He proceeded into the *Regno*, took some cities, and received the submission of others, while the nobles of Apulia and Calabria flocked to his camp to do him homage. Late in the year he crossed into Sicily, and soon his conquest was complete. He immediately set German lords over his Italian territories. He went back to Germany in 1195. In the following year he returned again to the *Regno*, reasserting his authority at the expense of certain cities that had proved rebellious. He died at Messina in 1197. Kington, I, 61-69; Lanzani, pp. 269-75.

entered Italy, held court at Bologna and in other North Italian cities, and was crowned at Rome as Otho IV. He appointed German lieutenants in Tuscany. In 1210 he entered the *Regno*, at the invitation of Diepold and others, took several cities, and wintered at Capua. In 1211 he nearly completed the conquest of Southern Italy. He was then forced to return to Germany by the news that the German princes, in revolt, had elected Henry's son, Frederick of Sicily, as king.¹

In 1212 Frederick, then seventeen years of age, entered Germany, and there he remained for eight years. During this time he visited the chief cities of the land, entertained the leading German nobles and prelates, and was entertained by them. To his court came also many prominent Italians, especially toward the end of the decade. In 1220 Frederick returned to Italy and was crowned at Rome as Frederick II. He remained in Italy (except at the time of his crusade) until 1235. During these fifteen years many Germans visited his court or stayed there as officials or as guests. There is record in particular of the attendance of German princes and prelates in considerable numbers in 1220, at the Coronation; in 1223, when Frederick devoted some months primarily to German business; in 1225, at the first Conference of San Germano; in 1226, at the Diet of Cremona; in 1230, at the second Conference of San Germano; later in 1230, during Frederick's visit to the Pope at Anagni; in 1231 and 1232, at the Diet of Ravenna; and later in 1232, at Aquileia, whither Frederick had summoned his son Henry, King of Germany, and on Frederick's progress through the March of Treviso. In 1235 Frederick again visited Germany. The Diet of Mainz, held in that year, was attended by ambassadors and nobles from Italy. In 1236 Frederick returned to Lombardy and led a German-Italian army against the Lombard league. Late in the year he went again to Germany. In 1237 he crossed the Alps for the last time. The remaining years of his life were spent in combat with the rebels of Northern Italy and Tuscany. In these campaigns Germans and loyal Italians fought side by side under the imperial standard. Many German nobles and prelates attended the Diet of Verona, held in 1245. Frederick died in 1250.²

¹ Kington, I, 87-129; Lanzani, pp. 280-90.

² Kington, *op. cit.*, especially pages referred to in the index s.v. "Germany, its history"; Lanzani, pp. 290-300, 321-459.

German-Italian relations of other sorts are also to be noted. The Teutonic Order of St. Mary of Jerusalem, founded in 1191 or 1192, had by 1212 several houses in Sicily and Southern Italy. This order, consisting of knights from the noblest families in Germany, was highly favored by Frederick II throughout his reign.¹ Germans and Italians fought side by side at Damietta in 1218-19, and Germans and Italians both took part in the crusade of Frederick II in 1228-29.² Many German pilgrims visited Rome.³ Many German students attended the University of Bologna.⁴

Several of the minnesingers and some of the Frederician poets are known to have had some part in these various German-Italian relations. Henry VI was himself a minnesinger;⁵ Frederick II was himself a member of the Frederician poetic group. Four minnesingers came into Italy, at one time or another, with Henry VI.⁶ One of them, Blicker von Steinach, came again with Otho in 1209.⁷

Frederick II was well acquainted with the greatest of all the minnesingers, Walther von der Vogelweide. Not long after Frederick reached Germany in 1212 Walther addressed to him a *Spruch* (26.23) requesting a gift. Frederick sent a gift; and Walther, in another *Spruch* (26.33), expressed his thanks and his willingness to receive still further proof of Frederick's liberality. A third poem (27.7) seems to imply that this request won only a promise that was not fulfilled. In 1220 Walther addressed a *Spruch* (29.15) to the German princes in the interests of Frederick; and in the same year, in another poem (28.1), he besought a substantial gift from the Emperor and obtained a grant, either in property or income, so generous as to make him independent for the rest of his life. He expressed his hearty thanks in another poem (28.31). In 1224 or

¹ *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Teutonic Order"; Kington, pages referred to in the index s.v. "Teutonic Order"; *Histoire de l'ordre teutonique, par un chevalier de l'ordre*, Paris, Vol. I, 1784, pp. 77-81, 103-5.

² Kington, pages referred to in the index s.v. "Crusades, the Fifth."

³ Ulrich von Lichtenstein, *Frauendienst*, ed. R. Bechstein, Leipzig, 1888, Vol. I, p. 174. Cf. the poem of Gottfried von Neifen beginning "Von Walhen fuor ein pilgerin / mit sinem kötzeline" (ed. M. Haupt, Leipzig, 1851, p. 45).

⁴ H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1895, Vol. I, pp. 151-96.

⁵ Lachmann, Haupt, and F. Vogt, *Des Minnesangs Frühling* (referred to hereafter as *MF*), Leipzig, 1911, pp. 40-41, 316-19.

⁶ Friedrich von Hausen, in 1186 (*MF*, 322-23); Bernger von Horheim, in 1190 or 1194 (*MF*, 369); Blicker von Steinach, in 1194 (*MF*, 374-75); Otto von Botenlauben (E. Stilgebauer, *Geschichte des Minnesangs*, Weimar, 1898, p. 165).

⁷ *MF*, 374-75.

thereabouts, Walther, at the request of Frederick's regent in Germany, used his poetic influence effectively to develop enthusiasm for the new crusade (14.38), and Frederick thereupon sent Walther a gift from Italy, which was duly acknowledged in verse (84.30). Later Walther urged Frederick to delay the crusade no longer (10.17); and the excommunication of Frederick and his final departure for the crusade in 1228 gave Walther occasion for several poems (13.5, 124.1, 10.9, 10.25, 10.33, 76.22).¹ At some time Walther himself visited Northern Italy.²

Other minnesingers were associated with the court of Frederick in Germany and in Italy, or in Germany alone. The Margrave of Hohenburg witnessed documents for Frederick in Germany in 1213 and 1217, and returned with him to Italy in 1220. He appears as witness for Frederick in seven Italian documents of that year, in three of 1221, and in three of 1223.³ Count Friedrich von Leiningen appears as a witness for Frederick in two German documents of 1214, in four of 1215, and in two of 1217. At some time he visited Apulia.⁴ Burckhart von Hohenfels witnessed a document for Frederick in Germany in 1216.⁵ Gottfried von Neifen witnessed documents for Frederick in Germany in 1236 and 1237.⁶

Ulrich von Lichtenstein spent two months in Rome in 1226, and in the following year rode from Venice through Friuli gowned as the Goddess Venus.⁷

Three poets, at least, of the Italian group visited Germany. Frederick himself, as has been said, was there from 1212 to 1220, that is, in the impressionable years between the ages of seventeen and twenty-five. King John of Jerusalem traveled in Germany in 1224, receiving an elaborate welcome.⁸ Piero delle Vigne was in Germany with Frederick in 1235.⁹

¹W. Wilmanns, *Leben und Dichten Walthers von der Vogelweide*, Bonn, 1882, pp. 118-47. The numbers in parentheses refer to the poems according to their marginal numbering in Wilmanns's edition of Walther, Halle, 1883.

²See his poem No. 31.13, ed. cit., and Wilmanns's note. The poem begins "Ich hân gemerket von der Seine unz an die Muore, / von dem Pfâde unz an die Traben erkenne ich al ir fuore."

³W. Busse, *Der markgraf von Hohenburg*, Lucka S.-A., 1904, pp. 7-13.

⁴F. Grimme, *Die rheinisch-schwäbischen Minnesinger*, Paderborn, 1897, pp. 231-35; K. Bartsch and W. Golther, *Deutsche Liederdichter des 12.-14. Jahrhunderts* (referred to hereafter as *LD*), Berlin, 1901, pp. lvi-lvii.

⁵Grimme, pp. 237-38.

⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 277-79.

⁷*Frauendienst*, ed. cit. (in note 3 on p. 141), stanzas 414-17, 470-604.

⁸Kington, I, 249.

⁹A. Huillard-Bréholles, *Vie et Correspondance de Pierre de la Vigne*, Paris, 1865, pp. 20-24.

Passages of interest and importance for our subject occur in the *Österreichische Reimchronik* of Ottokar of Horneck,¹ which opens with an account of the character and career of Frederick's son and successor, Manfred. Over a hundred lines are devoted to the matter of Manfred's excessive fondness for his German minstrels. It is stated that he neglected for their sake the affairs of the realm and thus brought disgrace and reproach upon himself. Ottokar mentions by name seventeen of these Germans, giving each the title of *Meister*, and states that the lesser musicians, the *Videlaere*, were very much more numerous. Among the masters he mentions is the minnesinger Herrand von Wildonje.² In a later passage, in the account of the preparations for the battle of Benevento, Ottokar represents Manfred as asking counsel of an aged Italian courtier, Occursius, who ironically bids the king turn for counsel to his German minstrels. Occursius implies in the course of his speech that Manfred's chamberlain (Manfred Marletta) composed poems which the Germans played and sang; and that Manfred himself was also among the musicians.³ Manfred himself never left Italy: the existence of such a band of German minstrels at his court therefore implies *a fortiori* the existence of a similar band at the court of Manfred's father, Frederick II.

There is, I believe, no specific testimony as to the extent to which the Italian members of the court of Frederick were familiar

¹ Referred to by Wackernagel: see below, note 2 on p. 162. The chronicle is edited by J. Seemüller, as No. V in the Vernacular Series of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Hanover, 1890-93. The chronicle was begun about 1305 (*ibid.*, pp. lxxv-lxxxviii). Ottokar states that he was himself a pupil of one of the men whom he mentions as minstrels at the court of Manfred (lines 323-27).

² Lines 270-376.

³ Lines 676-737. The most interesting portions of the speech are these:

her, wâ ist meister Wildunc?
nû solt wir haben einen klunc
siner guoten doene.
des wurde sô gar hoene
der Karlot und die sîn,
daz si ir vehten liezen sîn
und hüeben lîht ein tanzen an. . . .

oder waer hie meister Ramwolt,
dem sit ir für uns alle holt,
daz er disen stolzen leien
videlte den niuwen reien,
den der grâve kemerlinc gemacht hât,
sô wurde unser guoter rât. . . .

ir hiet ûf iwer seitensnuor
mit drivaltigem swanz
gemachet ein sô süezen tanz,
mit iwer selbes liden,
ez waer kunic Daviden
der kunst genuoc gewesen.

with the German language. It seems highly probable that Frederick himself must have gained a good knowledge of it during his early eight-year residence in Germany; and it seems probable, in view of the presence of so many Germans at Frederick's court in Italy, that the Italians most constantly attached to the court had some knowledge of German. To the Italian court poets as a group, however, German was probably less familiar than Provençal. They may have made acquaintance with German poems through hearing them sung, or through seeing them in manuscript, or in both ways. Very possibly, too, they heard among the Germans at the court some talk as to the devices and fashions of the minnesong.

II

The Provençal, French, and German poems to be examined as having possibly been heard or seen by the Fredericians are those written by poets who are known to have done their work wholly or in large part before 1240.¹ Upon this basis I have taken into consideration 1453 Provençal,² 321 French,³ and 723 German poems.⁴

¹ I select this date as being satisfactory and convenient for comparative purposes. It is quite possible that the work of any poet well known before 1240 may have influenced the Fredericians; it is hardly probable that they should have been influenced by any poet whose work was not well known by 1240. The third period in the literary history of France, as defined by Gröber, extends from 1150 to 1240: G. Gröber, *Französische Litteratur*, in *Grundriss der rom. Phil.*, II, 1, 435.

² Provençal poets to the number of 223 are mentioned by Chabaneau (C. Chabaneau, *Biographies des troubadours*, in C. Devic and J. Vaissete, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, Vol. X, Toulouse, 1885, pp. 324 ff.) in such a way as to indicate that all or a considerable amount of their extant work was done before 1240. They are those numbered as follows in Bartsch's list (*Grundriss zur Geschichte der prov. Lit.*, Elberfeld, 1872, pp. 97 ff.): 1-11 (except 5, 7), 13.1 (i.e., the author of the poem numbered 1 under the name numbered 13), 15-17, 20, 23-32 (except 26, 31), 37, 43-47, 51, 52.3 and 4, 54-60 (except 57), 65, 67, 70, 75.4 and 7, 79-84 (except 82), 91-99 (except 93, 96), 105-6, 111-12, 115-20 (except 118), 123-26, 127.1, 128-29, 131.1, 132-34, 136, 142, 147.2, 148.1, 149, 152, 155-56, 158, 162-63, 165.4, 167, 171, 173-74, 177, 181, 183-87, 190, 191.2, 192-94, 199, 202, 204-5, 208-10, 213-14, 217-18, 223, 227, 231-45 (except 232, 237, 244), 249-53 (except 252), 261-67 (except 263, 266), 273, 275-76, 280-81, 285-88, 293, 295, 298, 303.1, 305-7, 310, 315-16, 320-35 (except 321, 325, 328, 331, 333), 338, 340, 343-45, 348, 352-56, 361-67 (except 363, 365), 370-78 (except 371, 376), 384-92 (except 385, 387, 391), 395, 397-98, 404, 406, 409, 411, 414, 416-17, 421-22, 430, 432, 437-44 (except 439, 441), 447-60 (except 448, 452, 456, 459).

F. W. Maus, in his *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss sämmtlicher Strophenformen der provenzalischen Lyrik* (an appendix to his *Peire Cardenal's Strophenbau in seinem Verhältniss zu den anderen Trobadors* [= *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen*, V], 1884) gives the metrical structure (rhyme-schemes and line-lengths) of 1450 poems by the 223 poets in question. My statistics as to these poems are based entirely on the statements of Maus. Nine poems are listed by Maus as inaccessible to him (p. 96). I have seen three of these. The 1st rhymes ABBAACDDCCD, all lines being of 10 syllables (Folquet de Marsella, ed. S. Stronksi, Cracow, 1910, No. XXII); the 6th (by Guiraut de Calanso) rhymes apparently A'B⁶B'A'C⁴D⁶D⁶C⁶E⁶F⁶G⁴G¹⁰F¹⁰H¹⁰ (*Il canzoniere provenzale* H, ed. L. Gauchat and H. Kehrli, in *Studj di filologia romanza*, V [1891], 341 ff., No. 265); the

There is one respect of metrical technique in which the *canzone* agrees with the Provençal lyric and differs from both the French lyric and the minnesong.

last, a fragment, is in decasyllabic monorhyme (Sordello, ed. C. de Lollis, Halle, 1896, No. IX).

In addition to the 1450 poems which he analyzes, Maus (No. 817) lists 16 others, by poets among those in question, as of the *descort* type. These poems do not lie within the scope of the present examination.

The French poets taken into consideration are 26 in number. Gröber (*op. cit.*, pp. 667-85) enumerates 52 poets whose work fell in the period in question. Of these, I have considered all whose poems are accessible in special editions, in J. Brakelmann, *les Plus Anciens Chansonniers français*, Paris, 1870-71, and in the continuation of the same work published by E. Stengel (= *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen*, XCIV), 1896, or in A. Scheler, *Trouvères belges du XII^e au XIV^e siècle*, Brussels, 1876, and *Trouvères belges, nouvelle série*, Louvain, 1879. The poets whose works I have studied in separate editions are the following: Blondel de Neele, ed. L. Wiese, Dresden, 1904; Chastelain de Coucy, ed. F. Fath, Heidelberg, 1883; Colin Muset, ed. J. Bédier, Paris, 1893; Conon de Bethune, ed. A. Wallensköld, Helsingfors, 1891; Gace Brulé, ed. G. Huet, Paris, 1902; Gautier de Dargies, ed. G. Huet, Paris, 1912; Gautier d'Espinaus, ed. U. Lindelöf and A. Wallensköld, in *Mémoires de la Société néo-philologique à Helsingfors*, III (1902), 205 ff.; Guiot de Provins, ed. A. Baudler, Halle, 1902; Hugo de Berzé, ed. K. Engelcke, in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, LXXV (1886), 147 ff.; Jehan de Brienne, ed. cit. in note 2 on p. 139; Richard de Fournival, ed. P. Zarifopol, Halle, 1904; Richard de Semilli, ed. G. Steffens, in *Beiträge zur rom. und engl. Phil.* (Festgabe für W. Foerster), Halle, 1902, pp. 331 ff.; Thibaut de Navarre, ed. Levesque de La Ravallière, Paris, 1742, and P. Tarbé, Reims, 1851. The poets studied in Brakelmann are all those edited by him and not included in the preceding list. Those studied in Scherer are Gontier de Soignies and Jocelin de Bruges.

There is no published metrical catalogue for French corresponding to that of Maus for Provençal. In my study of the French poems I have used the statistics for Thibaut and the Chastelain de Coucy given by F. Davids in his *Über Form und Sprache der Gedichte Thibauts IV von Champagne*, Brunswick, 1885 (I have however collected my own statistics for the poems printed by Tarbé but not by Levesque de La Ravallière, and consequently not treated by Davids [Nos. 4, 5, 22, 29, 31, 32, 37, 41, 42, 44, 45, 56-58, 65, 68]), and *Strophen- und Versbau der Lieder des Kastellans von Coucy*, Hamburg, 1887, and those given by the editors in several of the special editions listed in the preceding paragraph. In the other cases I have collected my own statistics. I disregard all poems distinguished by editors as not authentic; also the 3d poem attributed by Brakelmann to Crestien de Troyes (see C. Voretzsch, *Einführung in das Studium der altfr. Lit.*, Halle, 1913, pp. 308-9).

Besides the 321 poems to be examined, there are 7 *descorts* by poets among those in question: Colin Muset, III, VIII, X; Gautier de Dargies, XXIV-XXVI; Thibaut de Navarre, 64.

The 26 poets whom I have not taken into consideration (their works are accessible only in diplomatic prints or photographic reproductions of manuscripts) are apparently men of no great importance. Their extant poems number in all about 150 (an estimate based on attributions recorded in G. Raynaud, *Bibliographie des chansonniers français des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, Paris, 1884).

* The minnesingers whose work was done wholly or largely before 1240 are 45 in number. They are the 20 poets whose poems are edited in *MF*, and the following: Burckhart von Hohenfels, ed. F. Pfaff, in *Der Minnesang im Lande Baden* (= *Neujahrsblätter der bad. hist. Kommission*, N.F. 11), Heidelberg, 1908, pp. 36 ff.; Christian von Hamle, ed. F. H. von der Hagen, in *Minnesinger*, Leipzig, 1838 (referred to hereafter as *MSH*), No. 31; Friedrich von Leiningen, *LD*, No. 31; Gottfried von Neifen, ed. cit. in note 3 on p. 141; Gottfried von Strassburg, *MSH*, No. 124 (addenda in Vol. III, p. 454); der Hardegger, *MSH*, No. 95; Heinrich von Anhalt, *LD*, No. 27; Heinrich von Lüenz, *MSH*, No. 40; Hiltolt von Swangau, ed. E. Juethe (= *Germ. Abhandlungen*, 44), Breslau, 1913; Leuthold von Seven, *MSH*, No. 52 (addenda in Vol. III, pp. 327, 451, 468c);

1. *Coblas capfinidas*.—In 17 of the 85 *canzoni*¹ one or more words of the last line of each stanza are repeated in the first line of the following stanzas, and in several other *canzoni* the same practice is followed in some, but not in all, of the stanzas.² Such repetition is frequent in Provençal. The poems in which it obtains are said to consist of *coblas capfinidas*.³ It occurs in but four of the 321 North French poems.⁴ It does not occur consistently in any poem of the minnesingers.⁵

the Margrave of Hohenburg, ed. cit. in note 3 on p. 142; der Marner, ed. P. Strauch (= *Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der germ. Völker*, XIV), Strassburg, 1876; Neidhart von Reuenthal, ed. F. Keinz, Leipzig, 1889; Otto von Botenlauben, *MSH*, No. 14; Reinmar der Fiedler, *MSH*, No. 105 (addenda in Vol. III, p. 330); Reinmar von Zweter, ed. G. Roethe, Leipzig, 1887; Rubin, *MSH*, No. 54; der tugendhafte Schreiber, *MSH*, No. 102; der Taler, ed. Bartsch, in *Die schweizer Minnesänger*, Frauenfeld, 1886 (referred to hereafter as *SM*), No. IV; Ulrich von Lichtenstein, ed. cit. in note 3 on p. 141, Ulrich von Singenberg, *SM*, No. II; Walther von der Vogelweide, ed. cit. in note 1 on p. 142; Wernher von Teufen, *SM*, No. III; Bruder Wernher, *MSH*, No. 117 (addenda in Vol. III, pp. 11 ff.); Wolfram von Eschenbach, ed. A. Leitzmann, Halle, Vol. V, 1906. Questions as to the inclusion or exclusion of poets who wrote presumably both before and after 1240 have been decided according to the evidence available in Stilgebauer, *op. cit.* in note 6 on p. 141; Grimme, *op. cit.* in note 4 on p. 142; and the special editions mentioned above in this note.

There is no published metrical catalogue for German corresponding to that of Maus for Provençal. In my study of the German poems I have used the statistics for Neidhart given by A. Bielschowsky, *Geschichte der deutschen Dorfpoesie im 13. Jahrhundert*, Vol. I (= *Acta germanica*, II, 2), Berlin, 1890 (I refer to Neidhart's poems according to their numbers in the list of *Winterlieder* given by Bielschowsky, pp. 281–82, except when other indication is given), and the statistics for Hiltbolt and the Margrave of Hohenburg given in the editions referred to above. In the other cases I have collected my own statistics. Of the 723 poems 669 are *Lieder*, and 54 are *Sprüche* (possibly a few poems which I have classed as *Lieder* should rather be classed as *Sprüche*). This distinction, however, is not important for the comparison in hand, as the stanzaic structure of the *Spruch* is of the same sort as that of the *Lied* (cf. note † on p. 149). I count a series of one- or two-stanza *Lieder* in the same *Ton* (such series occur only among the earlier poets edited in *MF*), or a series of *Sprüche* in the same *Ton*, as a single poem: 723 is then really the number of the *Töne* concerned. I have disregarded all poems distinguished by editors as not authentic.

Besides the 723 poems to be examined, there are 7 *Leiche* by poets among those in question: *MF*, 69.1, 96.1; *MSH*, 14, XI; *SM*, IV, 1; Reinmar von Zweter, I; Ulrich von Lichtenstein, XXV; Walther, 3.1.

¹ For the purposes of this comparison and the next, the one fragmentary *canzone* (see note 1 on p. 135) is disregarded.

² Langley, p. 516.

³ Bartsch, *Die Reimkunst der Troubadours*, in *Jahrbuch für rom. und engl. Lit.*, I (1859), 178–82.

⁴ Gace Brulé, VII; Richard de Fournival, I; Thibaut de Blazon, VIII; Thibaut de Navarre, 7. It occurs also in two stanzas in Gautier de Dargies, IX, but it does not seem here to be used as a metrical device.

⁵ Unless one considers as a case in point Walther, 124.1, in which each of the three stanzas begins and ends with the word *ouwe*. There are two poems in which repetition occurs in two stanzas but not in the remaining stanzas: Ulrich von Lichtenstein, XXIV; *SM*, II, 7. There are a dozen or more poems in which it occurs in one stanza only: *MF*, 101.15, 124.32; Ulrich von Lichtenstein, IX, XX, XXIII; *SM*, II, 5, 16, 21, 22, 25; Walther, 40.19, 43.9, 63.32, 113.31.

There are two respects in which the *canzone* agrees with both the Provençal lyric and the French lyric and differs from the minnesong.

2. *Coblas unissonans*.¹—Eleven of the 85 *canzoni* repeat the rhymes of the first stanza in all or some of the other stanzas. In eight cases the repetition is complete, the same set of rhymes being used in all the stanzas. In two cases the repetition is partial but regular, one set of rhymes being used in stanzas I and II, and another set in stanzas III and IV. In the other case the repetition is partial and irregular.² Such repetition, complete or partial but regular, is usual in the Provençal lyric. The poems in which it obtains are said to consist of *coblas unissonans*.³ The same repetition is usual also with the *trouvères*. It appears in 276 of the 321 poems I have examined. In 93 cases the repetition is complete; in 183 cases it is partial but regular. Among the minnesingers, however, such repetition is almost unknown. There is no case of complete repetition, and there are but three cases of partial repetition.⁴

3. Line.—The Italian line, like the Provençal and like the French, is measured by the number of syllables it contains.⁵ The German line is measured by the number of accents it contains.⁶

There is no respect in which the *canzone* agrees with the French lyric while differing from both the Provençal lyric and the minnesong.

There is one respect in which the *canzone* agrees with both the French lyric and the minnesong, while differing from the Provençal lyric.

¹ In this respect and in several of the respects mentioned below, the early Italian lyric was compared (without statistics) with one or more of the three bodies of Transalpine verse by one or more of the critics referred to on pp. 135–37. For their arguments, see below, pp. 162–66.

² Langley, pp. 515–16. I class C 7 (in this and subsequent notes the Italian poems are referred to according to their numbers in Langley's list, pp. 474–96; C stands for *canzone* or *canzoni*) as complete in repetition. As to the number of *canzoni* here compared, see note 1 on p. 146.

³ Bartsch, *Reimkunst*, pp. 172–75.

⁴ Gottfried von Neifen, 11. 6, in which stanza I rhymes with III, and II with IV; and 27. 15, in which I rhymes with II, and III with IV; Ulrich von Lichtenstein, XXXIII, in which II rhymes with IV, the other stanzas being monorhymed, each with a different rhyme.

⁵ E. Stengel, *Romanische Verslehre*, in Gröber's *Grundriss*, II, 1, 8. The relation of the Italian line to the Provençal is treated by F. Ventresca in a Master's thesis, *The Origin of the Type 6–10 in the Italian endecasillabo*, 1910, deposited in the Library of the University of Chicago.

⁶ R. von Muth, *Mittelhochdeutsche Metrik*, Vienna, 1882, pp. 11 ff.

4. Tripartition.—In all of the 86 *canzoni* the stanza is, in the technical sense, tripartite—that is, it consists of two like parts followed by a third unlike part.¹ The two like parts are exactly alike in number of lines and in the syllabic length of the corresponding lines; and they are exactly or largely alike in rhyme-scheme.² They are each at least two lines in length. The third part differs from the first and from the second in rhyme-scheme and in length, or in rhyme-scheme alone.³ It is at least three lines in length.

The structure of the tripartite stanza is discussed, for the first time, by Dante, in the *De vulgari eloquentia*, written about 1300.⁴ Dante states the main structural conditions of tripartition, calling the two like parts *pedes* and the third unlike part *sirma* or *cauda*. He notes certain varieties possible in the arrangement of the stanza, stating the terms appropriate in such cases; and discusses some of the possibilities and limitations as to the variation of the rhyme-scheme in the second *pes*.

For the exact comparison of the *canzone* with the corresponding Transalpine poems in the matter of tripartition, one must have an exact definition of the tripartite stanza. The main essentials of tripartition are clear enough, but there are many poems which vary in detail from the normal tripartite scheme just enough to make it nearly or quite impossible to say by mere inspection whether or not they were tripartite in the intent of the author. I have therefore formulated the following definition, basing it on the practice of the early Italians, on the statements of Dante, and on the practice of Transalpine poets whose stanzas are for the most part clearly tripartite: a tripartite stanza is one which is divisible into three parts in such a way as to satisfy these five conditions: (1) each of the

¹ Langley, pp. 503–10. I regard C 43 as tripartite (Langley, p. 504, a). I regard as special cases of tripartition the two instances (C 47, 63) in which the stanza consists of three like parts followed by an unlike part (see below, p. 155), and the several instances in which the final part is itself divisible into two like sections (Langley, pp. 508–9; see below, p. 154).

² They are exactly alike in rhyme-scheme in 78 *canzoni*. In 4 *canzoni* the rhymes are the same but are arranged in a different order (C 6: ABBA BBAB; 9: ABC CAB; 16: ABBA BAAB; 50: AB BA). In the other 4 *canzoni* one rhyme of the first part is replaced by a new rhyme in the second (C 27: ABC CDA; 34: AB CB; 39: AAB CCB; 56: ABAC DBDC).

³ It differs in number of lines in 78 *canzoni*; in the syllabic length of the corresponding lines in 5 of the other *canzoni* (C 28, 35, 37, 71, 83); in rhyme-scheme alone in the remaining 3 (C 46, 58, 60).

⁴ Ed. P. Rajna, Florence, 1897, Book II, chaps. x–xiii.

three parts is at least two lines in length; (2) if the first part is monorhymed, not all its lines are of the same length; (3) the first and second parts are alike in number of lines and in length of the corresponding lines; (4) the second part is *exactly* like the first in rhyme-scheme—that is, it has the same rhymes in the same order—or *largely* like the first in rhyme-scheme—that is, it has (a) the same rhymes in the reverse order, or (b) the same rhymes with the second in the place or places of the first and the first in the place or places of the second, or (c) one or two new rhymes, so introduced that (i) the order of rhymes is the same (that is, each new rhyme takes the same relative position as the one it replaces), (ii) the final rhyme of the two parts is the same, and (iii) any line in the first part that does not rhyme with another line in the first part must rhyme with the corresponding line in the second part;¹ (5) the third part differs from the first and from the second in length (that is, in number of lines or in the length of the corresponding lines) or in rhyme-scheme or in both respects.²

Upon the basis of this definition 3/5 of the Provençal, 5/6 of the French, and 5/6 of the German poems are tripartite. The exact figures are given in Table I.

TABLE I

	Italian	Provençal*	French	German†
Tripartite	86	877	273	615
Non-tripartite	0	576	48	108

* In the 877 are included 21 poems for which Maus does not give line-lengths. Some of these, possibly, are not tripartite. I include as tripartite one poem excluded by the definition: see note 2 on this page.

† I include as tripartite a few poems excluded by the definition: see note 2 on this page. Of the 669 *Lieder*, 573 are tripartite, 96 non-tripartite. Of the non-tripartite *Lieder* 29 are by the very earliest minnesingers (Nos. II-X in *MF*), and 26 are *Reien* by Neidhart. Of the 54 *Sprüche*, 42 are tripartite, 12 non-tripartite (*MF*, 20.1, 25.13, 30.34; *SM*, II 20; Walther, 8.4, 10.1, 26.3, 31.13, 37.24, 37.34, 78.24, 84.14).

¹ Examples: (a) AB BA, or ABC CBA; (b) AAB BBA, or ABC BAC; (c) AAB CCB, or ABAC DBDC. (iii) is Dante's "Et si in altero pedum exsortem rithimi desinentiam esse contingat, omnimode in altero sibi instauratio fiat": chap. xiii. I disregard, however, Dante's immediately following statement that all the rhymes of the second foot may be new provided that each line of the first foot rhymes with another line within the foot, for this would admit many poems which are clearly not tripartite in the writer's intention, in particular those which proceed by a series of couplets (as AA BB CC DD etc.).

² This definition is not perfect, but I believe it to be as accurate as is practically possible. It probably admits some poems that were not tripartite in the author's intention. It excludes very few, I believe, that are in reality tripartite. In making the actual classification, however, I have admitted as tripartite the following poems, each of which fails to satisfy some one of the above conditions, but is markedly tripartite in other respects: C 6, 9, 34; Maus's No. 64; *MF*, 87.29, 143.23, 199.25, 209.25; *MSH*, 54, XI;

No mention of tripartite structure appears in the exhaustive Provençal metrical treatise, *las Leys d'Amors*, written about 1325.¹

Technical terms for the parts of the German tripartite stanza first appear in a *Meisterlied* of about 1350. The two like parts are called *Stollen*, and the verb *absingen* is used to indicate the composition of the third unlike part. The corresponding noun, subsequently used, is *Abgesang*.²

There are five respects in which the *canzone* agrees with the minnesong, while differing from both the Provençal lyric and the French.

5. Length of the *pes*.—The practice of the four groups of poets as to the length of the first of the two like parts of the stanza is as indicated in Table II.

TABLE II

	Italian	Provençal	French	German
Poems with foot of 2 lines....	28	843	264	435
Poems with foot of 3 lines....	43	24	5	127
Poems with foot of 4 lines....	14	10	4	40
Poems with foot of 5 lines....	1	0	0	10
Poems with foot of 6 or 7 lines	0	0	0	3

It will be seen that whereas the Provençal and French writers use the two-line foot almost exclusively, the minnesingers make very extensive use of the foot of three lines and a considerable use of still longer feet, while the Italians use the foot of three lines much oftener than the foot of two lines, and make a proportionately considerable use of the foot of four lines.

6. Rhyme-scheme of the *pedes*.—Table III shows the number of occurrences of every rhyme-scheme for the *pedes* used in any two of the four bodies of verse.

95, III; 117, VI; *SM*, III, 1, 3; Gottfried von Neifen, 39.35, 45.8; the Margrave of Hohenburg, VII; Neidhart, 28; Walther, 92.9; Wolfram, VII.

Tripartition in stanza structure is ultimately derived, doubtless, from tripartition in melody. One might therefore expect that the music of a poem, when preserved, would afford a final criterion as to whether or not the stanza structure is tripartite. This, however, is not the case. There are plenty of instances in which a tripartite melody appears with a non-tripartite stanza, and plenty in which a non-tripartite melody appears with a tripartite stanza. See C. Appel, *Der Troubadour Uc Brunec*, in *Abhandlungen Herrn Prof. Dr. Adolf Tobler dargebracht*, Halle, 1895, pp. 54–60; and J. Beck, *la Musique des troubadours*, Paris, 1910, p. 80.

¹ Ed. M. Gatién-Arnoult, Toulouse, Vol. I (= *Monumens de la litt. romane*, Vol. I), 1844, pp. 198–338.

² Bartsch, *Dante's Poetik*, pp. 308–9.

TABLE III

	Italian	Provençal	French	German
AA AA.....	0	0	1	1
AB AB.....	26	378	242	422
AB BA.....	1	465	21	7
AB CB.....	1	0	0	5
AAA BBB.....	0	1	0	1
AAB AAB.....	2	7	2	3
AAB BBA.....	0	1	0	2
AAB CCB.....	1	5	1	35
ABC ABC.....	38	2	2	80
ABC BAC.....	0	1	0	1
AAAB CCCB.....	0	1	0	3
AABC AABC.....	0	2	0	1
ABAC DBDC.....	1	0	0	2
ABBA ABBA.....	1	3	0	0
ABCD ABCD.....	3	0	0	16
ABABC ABABC*.....	1	0	0	2

* The schemes AB CB and AAA BBB occur only in poems classed by exception as tripartite: see note 2 on p. 149. The rhyme-schemes for the *pedes* occurring in only one of the four bodies of verse are as follows. (The number of occurrences, if more than one, is indicated in a parenthesis after the scheme. In a few cases the schemes occur only in poems classed by exception as tripartite.) In Italian: ABC CAB, ABC CDA, ABBA BAAB, ABBA BBAB, ABBC ABBC(6), ABCB ABCB. In Provençal: AAA AAA(4), AAB BAA(2), ABB ABB, AAAA AAAA, AAAB AAAB, AABA AABA, ABAB CBCB. In French: AABB AABB, ABAB ABAB(3). In German: ABA ABA(3), ABA BAB, ABC CBA, AABA CCB, AABBC CDD, AABC DDBC(6), ABAB CDCB(3), ABAC DEDC(2), ABBC ADDC(3), ABBC DEEC, ABCD DCBA, AAAAB CCCCB, AABCCD EEBFFD, AABBC DDEEC, ABABC DEDEC(2), ABCCD ABEED, ABCDE ABCDE(3), AAAAB CCCCB, AABCCD EEBFFD, ABABAAC ABABAAC.

The favorite initial rhyme-scheme in the Provençal lyric is then AB BA, which occurs in 465 of the 877 poems in question. This scheme, much less popular in French, is used by the minnesingers in but 7 of the 615 poems,¹ and appears in only one of the 86 *canzoni*.²

The favorite initial rhyme-scheme among the Frederician poets is ABC ABC, which occurs in 38 of the 86 *canzoni*.³ Among the writers who employ it are the Emperor Frederick, King Enzo, and Pier delle Vigne. This scheme is very popular with the minnesingers, who employ it 80 times—far oftener than any other scheme except the fundamental AB AB.⁴ The scheme ABC ABC appears in but two of the Provençal and but two of the French poems.⁵

¹ *MF*, 66.1, 80.1, 84.10, 118.1; Hiltbolt, VIII; Walther, 44.35, 66.21.

² *C* 50.

³ *C* 2, 8, 12, 22, 24–26, 28, 29, 35, 40, 44, 46, 51, 53, 59, 62, 65, 66, 70–72, 77–79, 83, 84, and those mentioned in notes 1–7 on p. 152.

⁴ *MF*, 51.33, 89.21, 99.29, 122.1, 130.9, 160.6, 167.31, 176.5, 186.19; *MSH*, 14, IX, XIII, XIV; 54, II, VII–IX, XIX; 117, V, VIII; 124, I; *SM*, II, 2; III, 5; Gottfried von Neifen, 12.33, 14.8, 29.36, 38.26, 50.7, 52.7; Marner, III, VII, VIII; Neidhart, I, 19, 20, 33; Ulrich von Lichtenstein, XV; Walther, 16.36, 45.37, 46.32, 47.16, 71.35, 96.29, 97.34, 111.12; Wolfram, VIII; and those mentioned in notes 1–7 on p. 152.

⁵ The Provençal poems are Cadenet, 19 (Maus, 727), which rhymes A⁶B³C⁶ A⁶B³C⁶ C¹⁰A¹⁰C¹⁰ and Peire d'Alvernhe, 19 (Maus, 729), which rhymes A¹⁰B⁴C⁶ A¹⁰B⁴C⁶ D⁴E⁶D⁴E⁶. This latter poem was presumably written before 1162; see Peire d'Alvernhe, ed. R. Zenker, Erlangen, 1900, p. 36. The rhyme B was very possibly internal in the intention of the author. Neither of the two poems appears to have been well known; each is preserved in one MS only: see Bartsch, *Grundriss*, No. 106.19 and No. 323.19. Maus's scheme 723 is wrong. The correct scheme for the poem in question is

There are several instances in which Italian and German poems beginning ABC ABC correspond also in the scheme of the *sirma*. One *canzone* and four *Lieder* have the scheme ABC ABC DDC;¹ one *canzone* and eight *Lieder* have ABC ABC DDEE;² four *canzoni* and one *Lied* have ABC ABC DDEEFF;³ one *canzone* and one *Lied* have ABC ABC DDEFFE;⁴ one *canzone* and three *Lieder* have ABC ABC DED;⁵ two *canzoni* and five *Lieder* have ABC ABC DEDE;⁶ one *canzone* and 13 *Lieder* have ABC ABC DEED.⁷ In many other cases the schemes are very similar, though not identical.

A related scheme for *pedes* of four lines, ABCD ABCD, appears in three *canzoni*, one of which is attributed to the Emperor Frederick or his son King Frederick, and another to King Enzo.⁸ This scheme appears in 16 of the German poems.⁹ It does not appear either in Provence or in France among the poems in question.¹⁰

The odd scheme ABAC DBDC occurs once in Italy and twice in Germany;¹¹ and the odd scheme ABABC ABABC once in Italy and twice in Germany.¹² Neither scheme appears in Provence or in Northern France.

7. Combination of lines of different lengths.—The great majority of the Italian and the German poems are heterometric—that is, they

ABABABAB: see Uc de Saint-Circ, ed. A. Jeanroy and J.-J. Salverda de Grave, Toulouse, 1913, pp. 105, 204. Guiraut Riquier and Lanfranc Cigala, the authors of Maus's Nos. 724–6, 728, 730, wrote after 1240.

The French poems are Guiot de Provins, I, which rhymes ABC ABC CBCC, all lines of 6 syllables; and Richard de Fournival, 4, which rhymes A⁷B⁶C⁵ A⁷B⁶C⁵ C⁴A⁶.

¹ C 58; *MSH*, 52, I, in Vol. III, p. 327; *SM*, II, 14; Gottfried von Neifen, 7.15; Neidhart, 13.

² C 64; *MF*, 94.15, 206.19; *MSH*, 54, XV; *SM*, II, 21; Burckhart, XIII; Gottfried von Neifen, 40.25; Marner, IV; Neidhart, 5.

³ C 5, 11, 55, 68; *MSH*, 31, I.

⁴ C 15; *MF*, 58.11.

⁵ C 60; *MF*, 190.27; Walther, 39.11, 57.23.

⁶ C 38, 81; *MSH*, 54, XVII; Gottfried von Neifen, 33.33; Neidhart, 17, 30; Walther, 93.20.

⁷ C 52; *MSH*, 102, IX; Burckhart, IX, XVI–XVIII; Gottfried von Neifen 23.8; Neidhart, 2, 3, 6–8, 16; Wolfram, I.

⁸ C 49, 69, 75.

⁹ *MF*, 83.25, 83.36, 102.1, 187.31, 188.31; *SM*, II, 33; Gottfried von Neifen, 3.1, 5.25, 37.2; Marner, XIV; Neidhart, 10, 12, 22, 27, 32; Walther, 103.13. Compare also the German schemes ABCD DCBA (Gottfried von Neifen, 32.14) and ABCDE ABCDE (Neidhart, 14, 31; Walther, 101.23).

¹⁰ Zorzi (Maus, 773) is later.

¹¹ C 56; *MSH*, 117, VII; Ulrich von Lichtenstein, VI.

¹² C 74; Marner, XI, XV. Compare also the German scheme ABABC DEDEC (Marner, XIII; Neidhart, 34).

contain lines of different lengths. The majority of the Provençal and French poems, on the contrary, are isometric—that is, they consist of lines all of the same length. The figures are given in Table IV.

TABLE IV

	Italian	Provençal*	French	German
Heterometric	61	583	119	565
Isometric	25	824	202	158

* There are 46 poems for which Maus does not indicate line-lengths.

8. Absence of *tornada*.—The troubadours regularly end their poems with a special stanza, called the *tornada*, shorter than the other stanzas, and usually addressed to some real or imaginary person.¹ This practice is common also in Northern France. A concluding stanza shorter than the others appears in 162 of the 321 poems I have examined. The character of address is lacking, however, in many cases. In the minnesong the *tornada* does not appear at all.² It appears, without the character of address, in just one of the 86 *canzoni*.³

9. Variety in stanza form.—The *canzoni* show a very great variety in the structure of the stanza—difference in rhyme-scheme or in the length of corresponding lines being considered as constituting difference in structure—; 79 of the 86 are unique in structure; 2 rhyme-and-length schemes appear in 2 *canzoni* apiece; and 1 rhyme-and-length scheme appears in 3 *canzoni*. Two of the three schemes thus repeated are simple and popular in type. In one case only does a scheme of any complexity appear in two poems. These facts certainly indicate a marked endeavor toward metrical originality on the part of the Frederician poets.⁴ The same endeavor is equally clear among the minnesingers; less marked in Northern France; and very much less marked among the troubadours. The figures are given in Table V.

¹ Bartsch, *Grundriss*, p. 71.

² The only *Lieder* having anything like a *tornada* are *MF*, 137.10, which ends with a three-line *coda*, and Walther, 73.23, which ends with a four-line *coda*. In neither case has the *coda* the character of address.

³ Langley, pp. 516–17; Monaci, *Crestomazia italiana dei primi secoli*, Città di Castello, 1889–1912, p. 215.

⁴ Langley, p. 517. The repeated scheme is A'B'C^u A'B'C^u D^uE^uF^uG^uG^uE^uD^u. It appears in a poem by Jacopo Mostacci and in one by Rinaldo d'Aquino.

TABLE V

	Italian	Provençal*	French	German†
No. of different rhyme-and-length schemes	82	870	238	657
No. of poems not original in rhyme-and-length scheme . . .	4	572	83	66

* In 11 cases the schemes given by Maus are not sufficiently detailed to indicate whether the poems in question are original in scheme or not.

† I have considered the dactylic and the non-dactylic 4-accent lines as different.

It was indeed a recognized practice among the troubadours to borrow the scheme—often the very rhymes—of a predecessor or poet-companion.¹ Among the minnesingers, on the contrary, such imitation was regarded as an evidence of artistic poverty or dishonesty.²

In the other respects in which I have examined the four bodies of verse there is not enough disagreement between the poems of troubadours, *trouvères*, and minnesingers to afford any basis for argument as to the derivation of the *canzone*. The results of the comparison may, however, be noted in passing. In a few respects the Italian poems differ more or less notably from the others. The average length of the stanza is for Italy 11 lines, for the other countries 9 lines.³ The average length of the *sirma* is for Italy $5\frac{1}{2}$ lines, for the other countries $4\frac{1}{2}$ lines.⁴ The Frederician poets always introduce at least one new rhyme in the *sirma*; the Transalpine poets not infrequently use for the *sirma* only rhymes already used in the *pedes*.⁵ The Frederician poets in 18 cases divide the third unlike part of the stanza into two equal sections, thus producing a quadripartite stanza; such division is very rare beyond the Alps.⁶ In other respects all four bodies of verse agree. The most frequent number of stanzas

¹ This matter is treated in detail by Maus, *Peire Cardenal's Strophenbau*.

² Von Muth, *op. cit.* (in note 6 on p. 147), p. 89.

³ The exact figures are: Italian, 11.1; Provençal, 9.1; French, 8.7; German, 8.9. These figures are based on examination of the tripartite poems only.

⁴ Italian, 5.3; Provençal, 4.8; French, 4.5; German, 4.3.

⁵ So in 88 Provençal, 153 French, and 62 German poems.

⁶ I class as quadripartite only stanzas in which the third unlike part is at least 6 lines in length (it does not seem to me that any 4-line part can be with certainty regarded as subdivisible in the intention of the author) and is divisible in such a way as to satisfy conditions essentially the same as those indicated in my definition of the tripartite stanza (see above, pp. 148, 149). The Italian poems in question are C 3, 12-15, 22, 27, 31, 39, 42, 49, 51, 56, 59, 61, 68, 78, 85. For Provençal, see Maus's Nos. 4, 245, 262, 312, 318, 342, 355, 400, 440, 497, 516, 563 (concerning in all 18 poems of the period in question). For French, Blondel, IV; Colin Muset, IX. For German, *MF*, 58.11, 207.11; *MSH*, 124, IV; Marner, XIII; Walther, 11.6, 18.29, 44.35, 76.22 (3 sections), 103.13.

is in each case five.¹ The beginning of the stanza shows rarely three or four like parts instead of two.² The last line of the second foot is sometimes rhymed with the first and last lines of the *sirma*,³ or with the first line but not the last,⁴ or with the last but not the first.⁵ The stanza often ends with a rhymed couplet.⁶ All four groups of poets use the *chiave*,⁷ equivocal rhyme,⁸ grammatical rhyme,⁹ broken rhyme,¹⁰ and internal rhyme.¹¹

¹ In studying the number of stanzas I examined 405 Provençal poems (all those accessible to me in special critical editions) and 580 German poems (I disregard the *Sprüche* and the work of the early minnesingers, *MF*, II-XVII, who make large use of the single-stanza *Lied*). I count separately independent single-stanza *Lieder* in the same *Ton*. I disregard single stanzas which editors specifically call fragments. The figures, based on the poems as printed, are given in Table VI.

TABLE VI

No. of Stanzas	Italian	Provençal	French	German
1	0	13	0	59
2	0	8	7	74
3	9	6	9	127
4	17	16	38	76
5	45	134	162	152
6	7	93	84	35
7	4	76	18	45
8	2	29	3	7
9	1	18	0	4
10 or more	0	12	0	1

These figures have only a very relative value, however. The original length of many of the poems is by no means certain. Many are incomplete, and many contain spurious stanzas. German differs from Provençal and French in its frequent use of very short poems. Italian is unlike German in its lack of poems of one or two stanzas (unless the sonnet be regarded as the equivalent of the single-stanza *Lied*), but like German in the relative frequency of poems of three or four stanzas. It does not seem to me, however, that any significance can properly be attached either to this likeness or to this unlikeliness.

² Langley, p. 504; Maus, Nos. 4, 7, 10, 90, 91, 175, several instances among 213-69, 487; Gace Brulé, VI, XXVIII; Gautier d'Espinaus, XIV; Gontier de Soignies, 14; Huon d'Oisy, II; Morisse de Craon, I; *MF*, 106.24, 191.7.

³ Italian, 6 cases; Provençal, 18; French, 3; German, 9.

⁴ Italian, 7; Provençal, 101; French, 34; German, 26.

⁵ Italian, 11; Provençal, 51; French, 17; German, 32.

⁶ I.e., with two lines of the same length rhyming with each other and not with any previous line: 21 cases in Italy, many cases in Provence (e.g., Maus, 300, 302, 308, 316-17, 321, 334, 343, 351, 359, 366, 368, 376, 390, 394), in France (e.g., Gace Brulé, I, VIII, XIII, XIV, XX, XXII, XXVI), and in Germany (e.g., *MF*, 7.19, 14.14, 18.1, 18.17, 19.7, 19.17, 19.27, 32.14, 33.15, 36.23, 37.18, 39.30, 45.1, 45.37, 48.3, 49.37, 50.19).

⁷ I.e., a line in each stanza rhyming not with any other line in the same stanza but with the corresponding line in each other stanza: Langley, pp. 510-11; Bartsch, *Reimkunst*, pp. 175-78; F. Orth, *Ueber Reim und Strophenbau in der altfranzösischen Lyrik*, Cassel, 1882, pp. 62-63; H. Giske, *Über Körner und verwante metrische Erscheinungen in der mittelhochdeutschen Lyrik*, in *Zeitschrift für deutsche Phil.*, 18 (1886), 57, 210, 329.

⁸ L. Biadene, *La rima nella canzone italiana dei secoli XIII e XIV*, in *Raccolta di studii critici dedicata ad Alessandro D' Ancona*, Florence, 1901, pp. 729-32; Bartsch, *Reimkunst*, pp. 188-89; A. Tobler, *Vom französischen Versbau alter und neuer Zeit*, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 154-61; von Muth, *op. cit.*, pp. 59 ff.

⁹ Biadene, *loc. cit.*; Bartsch, *Reimkunst*, p. 190; Tobler, pp. 161-63; von Muth, p. 75.

¹⁰ Biadene, p. 730 (there is only one instance in the Frederician poems, C 29, lines 51-52: *innamorata- / mente*); Bartsch, *Reimkunst*, p. 194; von Muth, p. 80. I am not sure that broken rhyme occurs in any of the North French poems in question.

¹¹ Langley, pp. 512-15; Stengel, *op. cit.* (in note 5 on p. 147), p. 68; Tobler, pp. 163-67; Bartsch, *Der innere Reim in der höfischen Lyrik*, in *Germania*, XII (1867), 129.

From the foregoing metrical statistics certain conclusions as to the derivation of the *canzone* are clear. As there is no respect in which the Frederician poems agree with those of Northern France as against those of the troubadours and the minnesingers, there is no indication that the Italians derived from Northern France any element of their metrical technique. The Provençal lyric, then, was evidently the source from which the Italians derived the use of *coblas capfinidas* and of *coblas unissonans*. The adoption of the *coblas capfinidas*, it may be noted, implies a linguistic as well as a metrical understanding of the models in question. The fact that the proportion of Italian poems having *coblas unissonans* (11 out of 85) is so much less than in Provence (where the use is regular) does not necessarily indicate the presence of a conflicting foreign influence. It may be accounted for as a result of the greater difficulty of rhyming in Italian.¹ The single Italian instance of the *tornada* shows likewise the influence of the Provençal *tornada*. The similarity of the Italian line to the Provençal indicates also that if the Italians followed any model for their line that model was Provençal. From the Provençal lyric too, doubtless, rather than from the minnesong, came some of those traits of metrical technique which are common to the troubadours and the minnesingers. It seems likely in particular that the Italians derived from Provence those traits of technique that suggest linguistic as well as metrical understanding, namely, the use of equivocal, grammatical, and broken rhyme.

If, however, the Provençal lyric had been the only model of the Frederician poets, it is hardly conceivable that their poems should have differed so sharply from it in so many ways. Let it be recalled that *all* of the Italian *canzoni* are tripartite, whereas only three fifths of the Provençal poems are tripartite; that tripartite structure is discussed in detail in the *De vulgari eloquentia*, but is not mentioned in the *Leys d'amors*; that 43 of the 86 *canzoni* have a foot of three lines and 28 a foot of two lines, whereas only 24 Provençal poems have a foot of three lines, as against 843 with a foot of two lines; that one *canzone* in every six has a foot of four lines, whereas in Provençal only one poem in every 88 has a foot of four lines; that the favorite Provençal rhyme-scheme for the *pedes*, AB BA,

Cf. the remarks of Casella cited below, p. 165.

which occurs in 465 Provençal poems, occurs in just one *canzone*; that the favorite Italian rhyme-scheme for the *pedes*, ABC ABC, which occurs in 38 *canzoni*, appears in just two Provençal lyrics; that the related Italian scheme ABCD ABCD does not occur at all in Provençal; that the Italians use the heterometric stanza more than twice as often as the isometric, whereas the troubadours prefer the isometric to the heterometric; and that the *tornada*, regular in Provençal, appears in but one Frederician poem.

In all these respects, moreover, the agreement between the Frederician lyric and the minnesong is close. Nearly all the German poems are tripartite; 127 of them have a *Stolle* of three lines, and 40 a *Stolle* of four lines; the rhyme-scheme AB BA occurs but 7 times; the scheme ABC ABC occurs 80 times, and the related scheme ABCD ABCD 16 times; the minnesingers use the heterometric stanza more than three times as often as the isometric; and they do not use the *tornada* at all. Let it be recalled also that the Frederician poets had ample opportunity to become acquainted with the minnesong. Let it be noted, finally, that the elements of technique in which the Frederician lyric agrees with the minnesong are in every case such as would be apparent to one who heard or saw the minnesong, even if he had but little knowledge of the language of the minnesingers. Constant tripartition, the *Stolle* of three or of four lines, the initial rhyme-schemes ABC ABC and ABCD ABCD, the heterometric stanza, the non-existence of the *tornada*: these are traits immediately obvious to the eye or notable to the ear of anyone interested in metrical technique.

I conclude, therefore, that the technique of the *canzone* was in large measure derived from that of the minnesong; and in particular that the Frederician poets derived from the minnesingers the opinion that the stanza should properly be tripartite, the fondness for feet of three or of four lines, the initial rhyme-schemes ABC ABC and ABCD ABCD, the preference for the heterometric stanza, and the rejection of the *tornada*. It is further probable that the Italian avoidance of imitation in stanza structure is due to the influence of the minnesingers. It is possible that the influence of the minnesingers led to the diminution in the use of the *coblas unissonans*; that the initial rhyme-schemes ABAC DBDC and ABABC ABABC and some

rhyme-schemes for the entire stanza are taken from the minnesong; and that the same source furnished to the Italians some of the metrical traits common to minnesingers and troubadours.

Some of the technical metrical terms used by Dante in the *De vulgari eloquentia* were possibly based on Provençal metrical terms, and some possibly on terms used by the minnesingers. Boehmer held that *frons* and *cauda* were suggested by the Provençal *cap-caudadas*, *versus* by the Provençal *tornada*, and *fustis*, which Dante uses figuratively, by *basto* or *bordo*. These terms, however, do not correspond sufficiently in application to warrant any inference as to probable relationship.¹ Wackernagel, followed by Boehmer and Bartsch, maintained that *stantia* is a translation of *zimber*.² *Zimber*, however, as Bartsch notes, is not used for "stanza," but as a general term for a poetic composition. I know of but two instances of its use in this sense, and in each case it forms part of a general figure of composition as building.³ Wackernagel maintained also, followed again by Boehmer and Bartsch, that Dante's change in the application of the term *pes* (which means, to Dante, a group of lines, and not, as to the Latin poets, a portion of a line) shows the influence of the term *Stolle*. *Pes* and *Stolle* coincide in the meaning "upright

¹ Boehmer, *loc. cit.* in note 2 on p. 136. Bartsch (*Dante's Poetik*, pp. 308-9) agrees with Boehmer. *Frons* is not *cap*. *Frons* refers to the whole first part of a certain type of stanza, and *cauda* to the whole third part of the tripartite stanza, whereas *capcaudadas* means "with the first line rhyming with the last of the preceding stanza." *Versus* is applied to one of the last two like parts of a quadripartite stanza, a very different thing from the *tornada*; *vers* in Provençal is applied to an entire poem. *Fustis* is used by Dante only in a very general figurative phrase, with reference to his own discussion of the *canzone*: "fustibus torquibusque paratis" (II, 5, end), "Praeparatis fustibus torquibusque ad fascem" (II, 8, *init.*).

² Wackernagel, *op. cit.* (in note 1 on p. 136), pp. 249-50; Boehmer and Bartsch, *loc. cit.* in the preceding note.

³ In the *Krieg auf Wartburg* (written in the second half of the thirteenth century; *MSH*, II, 3 ff.) Klingsor in three stanzas (33-35) propounds a parable, and in the last stanza, turning to Eschenbach for solution, says, "uf diz selbe zimber hoert von erz ein dach"; and Eschenbach says in the course of his solution (36), "sus dekke ich vremdez zimber meisterliche." The other case occurs at the end of the *Lohengrin* (written about 1285; ed. H. Rückert, Quedlinburg and Leipzig, 1858): "des getihtes zimber, / ob daz nâch winkelmezze si / niht geschicket noch nâch mûrers meisters bli, / daz nemt vûr guot, daz uns got vreud geb immer" (lines 7647-50). *Zimberman* occurs in a similar figure in the preface of Thomasin von Zirclaria's *Der wâlsche Gast* (begun in 1215; ed. Rückert, Quedlinburg and Leipzig, 1852): "doch ist er ein guot zimberman / der in sinem werke kan / stein und holz legen wol / dâ erz von rehte legen sol" (lines 105-8). Wackernagel's other references are to similar figures, in which, however, neither *zimber* nor any cognate word occurs.

support." The earliest instance of *Stolle* as a metrical term is dated about 1350; Bartsch notes, however, that the term is probably much older, in view of the fact that *studhlar* appears as a metrical term in the older alliterative poetry.¹ It is further possible that Dante's two terms for the third unlike part of the tripartite stanza, *sirma*, which means "train," and *cauda*, are related to *Swanz*, which means both "train" and "tail," and occurs once as a metrical term, with a meaning similar to that of *sirma* and *cauda*.² These terminological correspondences are in any case altogether too slight for use as positive arguments in favor of the derivation of the Frederician lyric from the minnesong. At the most they may be allowed a slight confirmatory value.

III

Gaspary, as has already been noted, proved that in content the early Italian lyric was considerably influenced by the work of the troubadours.³ He shows that two of the *canzoni* are imitations of Provençal originals;⁴ and that six passages in other poems are certainly or very probably derived from passages in certain Provençal poems.⁵ He specifies some sixty *motifs* and comparisons which are common to Provençal and Italian poets, but does not claim that any one of the Italian passages in question is derived from any one of the Provençal passages in question, although the verbal similarity is in many cases very notable.⁶ He notes that certain words and phrases appear with the same technical amorous

¹ Bartsch, *Dante's Poetik*, p. 308.

² The passage is quoted above, in note 3 on p. 143.

³ *Op. cit.* in note 4 on p. 136. The "Sicilianische Dichterschule," as defined by Gaspary, takes in a number of writers who, being later, do not belong to the Frederician group. In the analysis of Gaspary I disregard all statements that apply to non-Frederician writers only.

⁴ Pp. 35-38, 43-45 of the Italian translation. The poems are Jacopo Mostacci's *Umile core e fino e amoroso*, imitated from a poem of uncertain authorship, *Longa sazón ai estat vas amor*; and Giacomo da Lentino's *Troppo son dimorato*, imitated from Perdigo's *Trop ai estat mon bon esper no vi*.

⁵ Pp. 45-46, 99-100, 114-15. The passages are: one in Stefano Proto Notaro's *Assai mi piaceria*, derived from Richart de Berbezilh's *Be volria saber d' amor*; one in Stefano's *Pir meu cori alegrari*, probably derived from Richart's *Atressi cum l' orifans*; one in Giacomo da Lentino's sonnet *Sì como 'l parpaglion ch' à tal natura*, derived from Folquet de Marselha's *Sitot me sui a tart apercebutz*; and three passages in Mazzeo di Kicco's *Sei anni ò travagliato*, probably derived from the same poem of Folquet.

⁶ Pp. 49-111.

connotation in the Provençal and the Italian poets; that the Provençal types *comjat* and *planh* are instanced among the Italian poems; that both groups of poets practice plays on words and repetitions of words; that many words used by the Italians are borrowed from the Provençal; and that many words are used by the Italians with meanings which are normally Provençal.¹

No evidence has been adduced to prove that the North French lyric influenced the early Italian lyric in content. Bertoni, in the first of his articles, pointed out two or three French-Italian parallels in content, but in the later versions of his argument omitted them, rightly, as of no significance.²

Wackernagel, similarly, pointed out two or three German-Italian parallels in content, but recognized that the passages in question were too commonplace to indicate a direct relationship.³

In the endeavor to discover whether or not the minnesong influenced the Frederician lyric in content, I have compared as carefully as possible all the Italian and German poems in question, studying sonnets, *discordi*, and *Leiche*, as well as *canzoni*, *Lieder*, and *Sprüche*. The results of this comparison are negative. There is not, I believe, any passage in any Frederician poem which is certainly or even probably derived from a passage in the minnesong. Four of the Italian poems are measurably similar each to a particular *Lied*, but the resemblances, though fairly notable, are not striking.⁴ A great many ideas, references, and figures are common to the Frederician lyric and the minnesong; but they are in every case, I believe, common to Provençal as well, and in no case is the Italian-German correspondence in wording sufficiently exact to suggest the existence of a direct relation between the poems in question.⁵

¹ Pp. 90-93, 114-15, 134-36, 263-81, 283-305.

² See note 8 on p. 136.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 242-43.

⁴ C 8 (by Piero delle Vigne) is similar to *MF*, 182.14 (by Reinmar of Hagenau): cf. especially "agio tutto ciò che m' è a talento / dall' amorosa donna" with "swes ich ir gewünschen kan, des gan si mir." C 24 (Paganino da Serezano) is similar to *MF*, 80.25 (Rudolf von Fenis). C 47 (Guido delle Colonne) resembles Walther's 54.37. C 81 (Jacopo Mostacci) resembles Walther's 52.23; cf. especially "tragone volere / e dolglio de lo tempo trapassato, / che m' è stato falliero" with "mîne zît aleine, / hab ich die verlorn, daz ist mir leit."

⁵ The following instances of agreement seem worth noting. The process of enamoration is through the eyes to the heart: C 6, 83, 85, sonnet 2; *MF*, 124.32; Hiltbolt, XI; Wolfram, VIII; Gaspary, pp. 86-90. Love enters the heart like the sun shining through glass: Sonnet 31; *MF*, 144.17; *MSH*, 124, II (stanza 1); Gottfried von Neifen, 8.23;

It is then probable that the Frederician poems were not influenced in content by the work of the minnesingers. This conclusion, however, does not in the least invalidate the previous conclusion that the technique of the *canzone* was derived, to a considerable extent, from the minnesong. Presence of influence in technique and absence of influence in content are by no means incompatible. The variety of the *canzoni* in stanza structure and the invention of the sonnet prove that the Frederician poets were eagerly interested in matters of metrical experiment and innovation. It is then inherently probable that, hearing or reading the poetry of the minnesingers, they were on the alert for new and attractive traits of metrical fashion. In content, on the other hand, the Frederician poems as a whole—there are delightful exceptions, among the more courtly as well as the more popular lyrics—do not reveal a notable creative enterprise. To the Frederician poets the German language, as has already been noted, was probably less familiar than the Provençal. The line of least resistance as to content was then naturally the free rehandling of Provençal material. While the external form of the German poems was obvious enough, the penetration of their meaning was quite a different matter. It is therefore not surprising that the Frederician lyric should show at the same time a considerable influence of the minnesong in technique and none in content.

Walther, 3.1; *Denkmäler provenzalischer Lit. und Sprache*, ed. H. Suchier, Halle, 1883, p. 276, lines 131 ff. The lady passes through the eyes into the heart, without injuring the lover: Sonnet 25; *MF*, 127.1, 194.18. The lover belongs not to himself but to his lady: C 35, sonnet 22; *MF*, 126.3; Gaspary, pp. 52–54. The lover is silent in his lady's presence: C 18, sonnet 7; *MF*, 136.1, 164.12; *MSH*, 124, I; Gottfried von Neifen, 24.21, 28.18; Neidhart, 50b (Keinz's numbering); Gaspary, pp. 57–58. The lover is driven to madness: C 47; *MF*, 51.13. The lady wounds and heals: C 19, sonnet 1; Walther, 97.34; Gaspary, pp. 102–3. The lover is refined by love as gold is refined in the furnace: C 25; *MF*, 19.17; Gaspary, p. 94. The lover resembles an unfortunate gamester and the creditor of a bad debtor: C 74; *MF*, 80.1; Gaspary, 114–15. The lover's heart dwells with his lady: C 15, 51, 60, 64, 76, 80; *MF*, 47.9, 51.13, 51.33; Friedrich von Leiningen, I; Margrave of Hohenburg, VI; Ulrich von Lichtenstein, LVI. The lover is opposed by slanderers: C 28, 30, 31, 80, *discordi* 1, 3, sonnet 24; *LD*, pp. xiv–xv; Gaspary, 75–77. The poet refers to Tristan and Ysolde: C 45, 57, *discordi* 1, 2; *MF*, 112.1; Reinmar von Zweter, II (stanza 25); Ulrich von Lichtenstein, XII; Gaspary, 104. Narcissus: C 70; *MF*, 145.1; Gaspary, 103–4. The dying swan: C 9; *MF*, 66.9; Gaspary, 105–6. The unicorn: C 19; Burckhart, II. The spring is in the land: C 29, 65, 73; scores of German poems. Love bids the poet sing (here the verbal similarity is close). C 7, which begins "Amor, che m' à 'n comando / Vuol ch' io degia cantare"; *MF*, 80.25, which begins "Minne gebiutet mir daz ich singe." Verbal repetition like that of "viso" in sonnet 18, which begins "Lo viso e son diviso da lo viso," appears in *MF*, 100.34, and in Reinmar von Zweter, II (stanza 230); cf. Gaspary, p. 135. The notes in *MF* to the poems in question contain references, in many cases, to possible or probable Provençal sources.

IV

It remains to review the arguments as to the general source of the early Italian lyric advanced by Wackernagel, Bartsch, Lisio, Monaci, and Bertoni.¹ These arguments are in nearly every case rendered ineffective or erroneous by the fact that they are assertions based on impressions, not conclusions based on statistics.

Wackernagel, in support of his theory that the early Italian lyric is derived from the minnesong, first calls attention to some of the opportunities for contact between Italian poets and minnesingers.² He then presents ten arguments: (1) The sonnet resembles the *Spruch*, in that (a) it is a single stanza, (b) it is longer than the typical *canzone* or *Lied* stanza, (c) it tends to become didactic, and (d) the same form is repeated from poem to poem, whereas in the case of the *canzone* a new form is devised for each poem. But the *Spruch* is always didactic or political; whereas of the 35 sonnets 29 are concerned with love, only 5 are didactic, and only 1 is political.³ The sonnet form is used by several writers without any essential variation, whereas no minnesinger uses the *Spruchton* of another minnesinger, and most of the minnesingers who wrote *Sprüche* use different *Töne* for different series of *Sprüche*.⁴ Moreover, as I shall show in detail in the forthcoming paper on the invention of the sonnet, no German poem, *Spruch* or *Lied*, can have suggested the form of the sonnet. (2) The *tenzone*, which is frequent in Provençal and North French, is absent from the minnesong and from the early Italian lyric. But there are two sonnet-*tenzoni* in the Frederician lyric.⁵ (3) The *tornada* is regular in Provence, somewhat rarer in

¹ For references, see notes 1-8 on p. 136. I disregard arguments based only on non-Frederician poems. The arguments of Crescimbeni are negligible; those of Boehmer are, except for the terminological arguments referred to above (p. 158), merely criticisms of Wackernagel, and as such are referred to below; those of Gaspary, which concern content alone, have been summarized in Part III of this paper; those of Caix and Jeanroy are sufficiently answered by Cesareo.

² He points out that Henry VI and Frederick II were rulers of both Italy and Germany, and that both wrote poetry; mentions Frederick's generosity to Walther von der Vogelweide; and refers to Ottokar's statement as to the presence of many German minstrels at the court of Manfred. He says also, wrongly, that Diepold of Hohenburg was a minnesinger: this rests on a wrong identification of the minnesinger known as the Margrave of Hohenburg: see Busse, *op. cit.* (in note 3 on p. 142), pp. 7-9.

³ Sonnets 4, 21, 27, 29, 34; 10.

⁴ Walther, for example, has 18 *Spruchtone*, and Der Marner and Bruder Wernher have 8 each.

⁵ Monaci, *Crestomazia*, pp. 59-63.

Northern France, absent in Germany and Italy. This argument is essentially sound (see above, p. 153). (4) The early Italian stanza, like the German and unlike the Provençal, is tripartite. Boehmer and Bartsch both pointed out the fact that many Provençal poems have the tripartite stanza. Bartsch then stated the argument in its proper form: the Italian tripartition so closely resembles the German as to indicate the reception of German influence. As thus stated, the argument needs only the support of statistics to become valid (see above, pp. 148-50). (5, 6) The term *stantia* is related to the term *zimber*; and *pedes* to *stollen* (see above, pp. 158, 159). (7) In Italian, as in German, the last rhyme of the second foot is often repeated as the first rhyme of the *sirma* or *Abgesang*. But this repetition is equally common in Provence and Northern France (see above, p. 155). (8) The *coblas unissonans*, regular in Provence, are rare in Italy and Germany. Boehmer pointed out the fact that the *coblas singulares*, though exceptional, are fairly frequent in Provence. The relatively small Italian use of *coblas unissonans* is perhaps due to German influence; but the fact that the Italians use the *coblas unissonans* at all is clear proof of Provençal influence (see above, p. 147). (9, 10) The Italians, like the Germans, use broken rhyme and internal rhyme. But so do the troubadours (see above, p. 155).

Bartsch, maintaining that the early Italian lyric shows both German and Provençal influence, accepts the terminological arguments of Wackernagel and Boehmer, restates more correctly, though without statistics, the argument from tripartition, and adds six new arguments: (1) Dante's use of *carmen* for the single line suggests the German use of *Lied* for the single stanza. But it does not seem to carry any such suggestion. *Carmen* in its common sense of "formula" is sufficiently near to the sense "line of verse." (2) The Italians, like the Germans, are fond of the initial rhyme-scheme ABC ABC, which is not used by any early troubadour. This argument needs only minor correction and the support of statistics to make it valid (see above, pp. 150-52). (3) The Italians, like the Germans, use the initial scheme ABCD ABCD. This argument, also, needs only the support of statistics (see above, pp. 150-52). (4) The Italian initial scheme ABBC ABBC suggests the Provençal initial scheme ABBC. The scheme ABBC ABBC occurs in six

canzoni.¹ No Provençal poem begins ABBC ABBC. Of the Provençal poems in question, 148 begin ABBC, but not one of them is tripartite. Three German tripartite poems begin ABBC ADDC, and one ABBC DEEC;² four German non-tripartite poems begin ABBC.³ (5) The Italian scheme ABBA ABBA seems to be a doubling of the Provençal scheme AB BA. Possibly, but only one Frederician poem is concerned.⁴ (6) The Italian use of the *tornada* indicates Provençal influence. True, but only one Frederician poem is concerned (see above, p. 153).

Lisio, seeking to minimize the Italian indebtedness to the troubadours, argues as follows: (1) The troubadours prefer lines of 8 and 9 syllables; the Italians, lines of 7 and 11 syllables. But a glance at Maus's list⁵ is sufficient to show that the troubadours used very frequently indeed both the 6- and the 10-syllable lines (which correspond to the Italian 7- and 11-syllable lines). (2) The Italian poems, unlike the Provençal, are tripartite; the *Leys d'amors* do not discuss tripartition; the Provençal MSS do not indicate tripartition. See the remarks on Wackernagel's fourth argument, and see also p. 150 above.⁶ (3) The favorite Italian initial rhyme-scheme ABC ABC does not occur in Provençal. See the remarks on Bartsch's second argument. (4) A basis for tripartition of the *canzone* stanza is to be found in the tripartite *strambotto* of the type AB AB CCDD or AB AB CDDC. But the only normal type of the *strambotto* is AB AB AB AB. So far as I know, the type AB AB CCDD exists only as a late (perhaps fifteenth-century) modification (in the Tuscan *rispetto*), and the type AB AB CDDC is extremely rare—if, indeed, it occurs at all.

Monaci advances the following arguments in favor of North French influence on the earliest Italian poets.⁷ (1) The *coblas unissonans* are regular in Provence, less common in Northern France,

¹ C 7, 18, 19, 21, 37, 85.

² MF, 123.10; Neidhart, 4, 23; MSH, 95, III.

³ MF, 42.1; Hiltbolt, V; Neidhart, *Reien* 22, 24.

⁴ C 4.

⁵ *Op. cit.* in note 2 on p. 144.

⁶ Tripartition is not indicated by the scribes in the MSS of the minnesong accessible to me in exact reproduction.

⁷ Monaci's article is not accessible to me. My review of his arguments is based on the reports of Bertoni and Casella.

and rare in Italy. Casella points out the fact that the rejection of the *coblas unissonans* is sufficiently accounted for by the greater difficulty of rhyming in Italian; and remarks further that in Provence the *coblas unissonans* served as a defense against alteration by *jongleurs*, whereas in Italy there was no need of such defense. Jeanroy answers Monaci more effectively by saying that the *coblas singulares* are as rare in Northern France as in Provence (see above, p. 147). In the relative rarity of the *coblas unissonans* the Frederician lyric agrees far more closely with the minnesong than with the North French lyric. (2) The *tornada* is regular in Provence, rare in Northern France, and lacking in Italy. Casella remarks that the Italian rejection of the *tornada* may have been due to its being no longer needed as a musical device. As a matter of fact, the *tornada* is very nearly as common in Northern France as in Provence (see above, p. 153). In the rejection of the *tornada* the Frederician lyric agrees rather with the minnesong than with the North French lyric. (3) The use of the *senhal* is common in Provence and unknown in Northern France and among the earliest Italians. Casella replies that the absence of the *senhal* from the earliest Italian poetry is not necessarily a consequence of its absence from North French poetry. (4) There are two types of the *descort* in Provence, one polymetric, the other polyglot; only the first type is known in Northern France, and the three Italian *discordi*, one of which is by John of Brienne, are all of the first type. Casella replies that the Italian polymetric *discordo* may have been derived from the Provençal polymetric *descort* as well as from the North French polymetric *descort*, and that the *discordi* are dance songs like the Provençal *bals*. The *descort* was hardly established as a North French type when John of Brienne left France.¹ There is extant the beginning of a North French polyglot *descort*.² The *Leiche* of the minnesingers are polymetric, not polyglot.

Bertoni notes certain rather slight opportunities for contact between North French and Italian poets,³ and adds three arguments to those of Monaci: (1) The recording of the poet's name within the

¹ See the next-to-last paragraph of note 3 on p. 145.

² Monaci, *Crestomazia*, p. 70.

³ See note 2 on p. 138.

poem is rare in Provençal, except among the earliest poets, and common in North French and in Italian. But Bertoni himself¹ admits the use of poetic signature by Arnaut Daniel, Guilhem Azemar, and Raimon de Miraval. Such poetic signature occurs also in the minnesong.² (2) The more popular of the early Italian poems are modeled upon lost French poems of a type just older than that of the earliest preserved North French poems. This is merely a repetition of the opinion of Jeanroy, which has been sufficiently refuted by Cesareo (see above, p. 136). (3) A Latin letter of Piero delle Vigne, by its introduction of a Latin verse at the end of each paragraph, suggests the North French *salut d'amour* with its insertion of refrains. Casella replies that the insertion of the refrain is only sporadic in the *salut d'amour*, and that the *Summa de arte prosandi* of Corrado de Mure mentions the custom of inserting "versus proverbiales seu auctorabiles" in prose letters.³

With the passing of the Hohenstaufen line, opportunities for contact between minnesingers and Italian poets virtually ceased. In the work of the post-Fredericians there is, I believe, no evidence of a direct relation to the minnesong. Guittone d'Arezzo and his train sought after likeness to the troubadours, both in form and in content, much more deliberately and extensively than the Fredericians had done.

Some four centuries later, it may be noted, the fully developed *canzone* form was borrowed, from Italy, by German imitators of Italian verse.⁴

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¹ *Il duecento*, p. 263.

² E.g., *MF*, 8.1, 20.17, 96.1; frequently in Neidhart.

³ The theory of Monaci and Bertoni is reviewed unfavorably, also, by S. Debenedetti, in *Giornale storico della lett. ital.*, LXII (1913), 203.

⁴ C. Floeck, *Die Kanzone in der deutschen Dichtung* (= *Berliner Beiträge zur germ. und rom. Phil.*, No. 40), Berlin, 1910.